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DOLLARS FOR DANCE: LINCOLN KIRSTEIN, CITY CENTER, AND THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

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In October 1952, when Lincoln Kirstein became managing director of New York's City Center, few American foundations supported the arts except on a limited and sporadic basis. Seven months later, this was to change dramatically. The decision by the Rockefeller Foundation's Division of Humanities to appropriate \$200,000 to City Center "toward the expenses of creating new productions in opera and ballet . . . during the three-year period beginning July 1, 1953" (1) opened a new era in arts funding. With fully half the sum allocated to the Center's resident dance company, the New York City Ballet, this was the first grant awarded to an American dance ensemble—as opposed to an individual like Katherine Dunham—by a leading philanthropic institution. It was also the first specifically earmarked to underwrite creative work, and hence a milestone in the history of American dance patronage. Within the dance community, however, the episode remains all but unknown, in large measure because of Kirstein's own silence about it. In *Thirty Years: The New York City Ballet*, his "diary" of the company and its predecessors, he makes no mention whatever of the grant or even of his tenure as City Center's Managing Director from October 1952 to January 1955—this in a book trumpeting any number of notable "firsts." The episode fares no better in Nancy Reynolds' *Repertory in Review: Forty Years of the New York City Ballet* or Bernard Taper's *Balanchine: A Biography*, both of which ignore it (2–4). Yet between 1953 and 1956 Rockefeller largess helped to underwrite nearly a dozen operas and ballets, including *The Nutcracker*. While the company's relationship with the Ford Foundation, which began in 1959, is far better known, that with the Rockefeller Foundation actually predated it by several years.

Although Kirstein's connection with the Rockefellers went back to the early 1930s, when he served on the Advisory Committee of the Museum of Modern Art, of all the clan it was Nelson A. Rockefeller, the future New York governor, to whom he felt closest. The two shared a passion for art, and their correspondence is filled with references to paintings, shows, and Saturday afternoon visits to galleries. Less than a year after the School of American Ballet opened its doors in 1934,* Rockefeller wrote his first check for the fledgling academy—\$300—to pay a needy student's tuition for a year (5). In 1937 he donated one hundred shares of International Paper and Power Company preferred stock, which the board voted to sell and use to maintain on full scholarship "twenty outstanding dancers" for two years (6); he also lent his name to the American Ballet's Stravinsky Festival, a gala occasion that helped to raise money for the school's Scholarship Fund (7). Finally, in 1941, following his appointment as Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, he sent the revived Balanchine-Kirstein company, now renamed American Ballet Caravan, on a goodwill tour of Latin America with a total government-paid subsidy of \$141,922.04 (8).† After Rockefeller's death in 1979, Kirstein, "visibly overcome with emotion," as the *New York Times* reported, dedicated

*During the School's early years Warburg was the president, Vladimir Dimitriew the vice-president and director, and Kirstein the secretary-treasurer. For the overlapping social and professional ties among the members of Kirstein's circle in the late 1920s and 1930s, including their ties with the Museum of Modern Art, see Weber, Nicholas Fox. *Patron Saints: Five Rebels Who Opened America to a New Art 1928–1943*; Knopf: New York, 1992.

†The company also enjoyed subventions from local governments in Brazil, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela. The Brazilians, for example, put up \$7,500 for two weeks in Rio de Janeiro and one in São Paulo (Kirstein, Lincoln. Draft of a Preliminary Report Concerning the Tour of the American Ballet Caravan in South America, June–September 1941; September 9, 1941; 5; Rockefeller Family Collection, R.G. 4 [NAR/Personal Projects], Series F965, Box 100, Folder [Lincoln Kirstein]). The souvenir program, which was edited by Monroe Wheeler, was made possible by an additional grant from Rockefeller's office (Brief of report from Lincoln Kirstein, Re. Contract No. NDCar-50, effective March 17, 1941; June 14, 1941; Rockefeller Family Collection, R.G. 4 [NAR/Personal Projects], Series F966, Box 101, Folder [Lincoln Kirstein/Ballet Caravan]). In addition to American Ballet Caravan, the CIAA sponsored the Yale Glee Club, an exhibition of contemporary American art arranged by the Museum of Modern Art, Chicago White Sox catcher Moe Berg (on a bat-and-ball tour), and two Spanish-language motion pictures by Walt Disney. For a discussion of these and other projects launched by Rockefeller during his CIAA career, see Reich, Cary. *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller: Worlds to Conquer 1908–1958*; Doubleday: New York, 1996; 214–222.

the evening's program of the New York City Ballet to the man he described to the audience as a "wonderful patron". (9)

Founded in 1913 with an endowment of \$182 million, the Rockefeller Foundation was among the country's outstanding philanthropic institutions, closely identified with medical research and with education (10). Controlled by an independent board of trustees and administered by a professional staff with headquarters in Rockefeller Center, it awarded grants to universities, research institutes, and other agencies. The arts were virgin territory for the Foundation in the late 1940s. Nelson Rockefeller may have written Ballet Society a \$5,000 check in 1948 (having just declined Kirstein's invitation to join the City Center board) (11), but as John Marshall, director of the Foundation's Division of Humanities, cautioned Newbold Morris, chairman of the Center's board, the Foundation was distinct from the "personal interests of Mr. Rockefeller." Marshall also warned "that there was little likelihood of direct assistance from the RF to the Center." (12) Still, by 1949 Morton Baum, chairman of the Center's Executive Committee, was making a case for funding: "The creative works of our serious composers and choreographers, are rotting for want of an opportunity of performance. . . . Until such time as the governmental authorities take cognizance of this situation, our Board of Directors feels that the Foundation might well undertake to meet the situation (13). The proposal Baum outlined—\$75,000 each to the Center's constituent opera and ballet companies to underwrite new work by American artists or in an American idiom—was virtually identical to Kirstein's three years later.

In the interim the Foundation had warmed to the idea of funding the arts. In April 1949 Ballet Society received a \$2,500 grant toward the completion of the book *The Classic Ballet*, with most of the money being used to pay the artist Carlus Dyer and the writer David Vaughan, whose contribution was uncredited (14).^{*} Two years later the Foundation awarded its first substantial grant to an arts organization, the New Dramatists Committee, for \$47,500 (15). Finally, on May 14, 1953, the Board of Trustees gave its final approval to a grant of \$200,000 for City Center. The three-year grant, which was to be used exclusively for the creation of "new productions . . . under the direction of Mr. Lincoln Kirstein," was to be equally divided between the New York City Ballet and the New York City

^{*}In the book's acknowledgments Kirstein wrote, "Above all she [Muriel Stuart] wishes to thank David Vaughan, the young English dancer and choreographer, who emigrated to New York to study in the School of American Ballet and to aid in the final revisions of this text" (*The Classic Ballet: Basic Technique and Terminology*; Knopf: New York, 1976; vii). In fact, his role, Vaughan told me, was far greater; he did not simply revise the text but actually wrote (with Stuart) the step and movement descriptions that comprise the heart of the book.

Opera, with \$100,000 allocated for the first year, \$60,000 the second, and \$40,000 the third (16).

With \$200,000 to spend, Kirstein leapt into action. He was a whirlwind with a cause—the people’s theatre of City Center. “It is now the richest theatre in the world,” he told Nelson Rockefeller, “as far as a self-supporting mechanism for producing new works goes . . . I feel it is as active now as the Museum [of Modern Art] was in 1935–40”. (17) He made lists, innumerable lists, of operas to be revived, composers to be commissioned, ballets to be choreographed, premieres to be scheduled. In January 1953 he sent Marshall a memorandum with his proposed budget for the 1953–54 season. It included productions of Stravinsky’s opera *The Nightingale* (last seen in the United States in 1928), Paul Hindemith’s opera *Cardillac* (unproduced in the United States), and a new American opera on the scale of Virgil Thomson’s *The Mother of Us All*. As for ballet, here, too, the accent was on the modern. There was *Souvenirs*, to a commissioned score by Samuel Barber, Stravinsky’s *Pulcinella*, an all-British *Pocahontas* with choreography by Frederick Ashton and music by Benjamin Britten, and a one-act *Don Juan* to a new score by Harold Shapero. Surprisingly, given his emphasis on the contemporary and the American, Kirstein listed two full-length ballets to nineteenth-century music, *The Nutcracker* (to Tchaikovsky) and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (to Mendelssohn) (18).*

To be sure, the list would change—many times. By the end, however, it included some of the decade’s most adventurous new operas: *The Tender Land* by Aaron Copland, *The Saint of Bleecker Street* by Gian-Carlo Menotti, and *Panfilo and Lauretta* by Carlos Chávez. Of the ballets, *Pocahontas* and *Don Juan* quietly vanished. So, too, did *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and *Pulcinella* (although Balanchine eventually staged both works). Rockefeller funds partly underwrote *The Nutcracker*, *Ivesiana*, *Roma*, *Pas de Dix*, and *Western Symphony*, all by Balanchine, *Con Amore* by Lew Christensen, *Souvenirs* by Todd Bolender, and *The Concert* by Jerome Robbins. They were also used to commission music from Stravinsky (for a work tentatively titled *Apollo the Architect* or *Finale*), Hindemith (for *Kleinzach*, another work that was never produced), and Shapero (for a work, also unproduced, that was

*In a letter to Charles B. Fahs, director of the Division of Humanities, written prior to receipt of the grant, Kirstein mentioned a number of possibilities that lack of subsidy precluded exploring. Among them was a production of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, with music by Virgil Thomson after Mendelssohn, choreography by Balanchine, and the dancers playing speaking as well as dancing roles (Kirstein to Fahs, November 14, 1952; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 [Projects], Series 200R, Sub-series [City Center], Box 392, Folder 3391).

initially called *Promenade* and later *The Golem*, and that first Balanchine and then Robbins was to choreograph). Other projects that failed to materialize were a revival of Thomson's *The Mother of Us All*, an opera by William Schuman called *An American Tragedy*, and three ballets to be choreographed by Robbins: *Ritual*, to music by Copland; *Portrait*, to music by Roy Harris; and an untitled work to Prokofiev (19). It was a distinguished list, and an ambitious one, worthy of Diaghilev not only in the combination of popular and "difficult" offerings, but also in the catholic vision of modernism. No wonder there were misgivings in the Foundation's genteel corridors about Kirstein's imperial visions. "The chief trouble with Kirstein," commented the architect Wallace K. Harrison, not without justification, "[is] that he tends to make plans so large that they can not be carried out." (20)

The Rockefeller grant did not go unnoticed in American dance circles. Indeed, even before it was approved, the Connecticut College School of the Dance, home of the American Dance Festival and a leading center for the study of modern dance, had approached the Foundation for funding. In January 1953 Charles B. Fahs, now director of the Division of Humanities, spoke privately with the *New York Times* dance critic John Martin, seeking his views on the merits of the Connecticut College program and "the ballet group at the City Center." (21) Martin's opinion of both was high. However, it was not until 1955 that the Foundation awarded the college a three-year grant of \$33,400 to support the scholarship program, help to pay faculty salaries, and enable new works to be commissioned. (A second grant, for \$40,000, followed in 1958.) (22) One can only speculate about Kirstein's role in this episode, if any. Although a confirmed classicist, he retained until the early 1960s a grudging respect for certain practitioners of modern dance, including Martha Graham (who choreographed a section of *Episodes* for NYCB in 1959), Martha Hill, and Doris Humphrey (with whom he served for several years on the ANTA Dance Panel,* which selected companies and artists to tour under the auspices of the U.S. State Department), and Merce Cunningham (who staged a new work, *The Seasons*, for Ballet Society in 1947). Graham (as well as Ballet Theatre's Lucia Chase) was to sit with him on the short-lived committee that met in 1958 to discuss the formation of a Lincoln Center Ballet Company, which would subsume existing dance companies and include two subdivisions, one oriented toward classical dance, the other toward modern dance (23). However, the fact remains that during

*Kirstein served on the ANTA Dance Panel from 1955 until January 1960, when he resigned. For a list of the panel members during this period, see Prevots, Naima. *Dance for Export: Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War*; UPNE/Wesleyan University Press: Hanover, NH, 1998; 147–149; introduction by Eric Foner.

Kirstein's tenure at City Center, modern dance never gained a foothold there. Neither did rival ballet organizations, unless they were foreign. Indeed, the instability of Ballet Theatre in the 1950s was at least partly owing to the drain of personnel as well as dollars, including Rockefeller dollars,* to the New York City Ballet.

The New York City Ballet was born in the virulently Cold War atmosphere of the late 1940s. In this atmosphere, as Baum pointed out, requests for government funding of the arts were apt to recall "the unfortunate experience of the Federal Theatre Project during the Depression." (24) In other words, to most U.S. Congressmen, funding smacked of socialism. The demise of the New Deal was still a vivid memory, nowhere more so than at City Center, which had its origin in the orchestra developed through the Federal Arts Project and a president (Newbold Morris) who had been the Project's New York director (25). The mandarins who staffed the Rockefeller Foundation had no love of socialists (or communists) of any stripe, but like the CIA "elite" spying for freedom on the front lines of Europe, they sought to distance themselves from the yahooism and anti-intellectualism of McCarthy's populist crusade at home (26). For them, arts funding was acceptable as long as it was unbesmirched by New Deal politics and could be enlisted in the service of the Cold War. This did not keep Fahs from ordering political checks on Kirstein and other key City Center figures. Unsurprisingly, the investigation turned up a host of "questionable" associations. Kirstein had signed a call for a convention of American revolutionary writers in 1935, was a sponsor and member of the board of directors in 1946 and 1947 of Peoples Songs, Inc. (an organization "declared subversive" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities), and had signed an open letter in 1939 "calling for greater unity of the anti-

*In April 1954 Marshall asked John Martin for his opinion of both Ballet Theatre and the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, since "a question ha[d] been raised about RF aid to both companies and M's comment was that it would be literally scandalous for the RF to give them its support. Neither company can stand comparison with the New York City Center Company" (Marshall, John. Report of an interview with John Martin, April 21, 1954; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 [Projects], Series 200 R, Sub-series [City Center], Box 392, Folder 3394). An unsigned memo circulated internally explained in greater detail the case against Ballet Theatre: "In the case of Ballet Theatre, the application sent us is virtually prima-facie evidence of the company's uncertain future. We are asked to provide for what amounts to total deficits of over \$400,000 a year. We are told that the sources from which this company earlier met its deficits have now dried up. The general impression in informed circles is that it is about to go out of existence" (Current requests for aid to ballet companies, April 22, 1954; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 [Projects], series 200 R, sub-series [City Center], Box 392, Folder 3394).

fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union.”*

Marshall, Kirstein, and their colleagues were sophisticated men, well aware that arts funding policies in the United States were out of step with those of postwar Europe, West as well as East. They knew, too, that in European intellectual circles American culture was viewed as little more than mass-market movies and bubble gum. The new music, dance, and painting that had transformed the landscape of American art since the 1930s were totally unknown there. The New York City Ballet made its first tour abroad in 1950. However, it was in 1952, when the company embarked on a five-month trip that included performances at the Berlin Festival, Edinburgh Festival, and the Paris Opéra—this as part of the huge arts festival Masterpieces of the Twentieth Century, covertly funded by the CIA through the Congress for Cultural Freedom and directed by Balanchine’s friend Nicolas Nabokov—that the company’s modernist “recipe” was shown to be an exemplary export, easily pressed into the service of liberal Cold War ideology. In a memorandum aimed at getting the Foundation to put up the air fare for yet another European tour (which it eventually did), Kirstein struck just the right note: “The New York City Ballet Company is universally recognized as the greatest organization of its kind in the Free World.”† Russell L. Riley, director of

*Unsigned memorandum written on behalf of Charles B. Fahs, March 23, 1953; and response from A.M. dated March 24, 1953; Rockefeller Foundation Collection, R.G. 1.2, Series 200R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3391. It should be noted that the memorandum requested the addressee to “check on . . . names” associated not only with City Center but also with the American Shakespeare Festival (which received a Foundation grant either late in 1953 or early in 1954) and the Connecticut College School of the Dance (virtually the entire faculty). Unfortunately, the attached response deals only with the City Center names. Kirstein’s FBI files detail other left-wing associations, such as speaking in 1947 at a Cultural Freedom and Civil Liberties conference sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America, declared a Communist front; calling for a national convention of American revolutionary writers in 1935; subsequently being a member of the Communist-dominated League of American Writers. The FBI ran its last check on Kirstein in March 1985, when he was invited to the White House to receive an award. In addition to the files at the Washington office of the FBI, there are files at the FBI’s branch office in New York.

†Memorandum: New York City Ballet: Proposed European Tour, 1953; n.d. [August 18, 1953]; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200 R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3392. This unsigned memorandum was attached to John Marshall’s account of a meeting with Kirstein in which he expressed “considerable distress about his unexpected inability to secure \$50,000 needed for transportation costs of the Ballet Company of New York City Center in a remarkable European tour definitely scheduled for the autumn, during which the Company would appear at most of the leading opera houses of Europe. Expenses in Europe are fully covered by local guarantees, but transportation costs simply cannot be earned. Until quite recently, K had what he supposed a firm agreement with one of his friends that the friend in question would meet those charges. Now, quite unexpectedly, the friend has found himself unable to do so.”

the State Department's International Educational Exchange Service, in a letter to Newbold Morris, described the company's tours as a "contribution to the objectives of the Department's educational exchange program, particularly in helping to change the widespread foreign opinion that American values are almost completely materialistic. Reports from abroad show that its performances have left the impression of an artistic excellence...representative of the high cultural standards of this country". (27) Even more rhapsodic was Kirstein's account (intended for the Foundation's annual report) of the company's visit to Trieste, then a battleground between East and West, in 1953:

This was the period of Communist-inspired anti-Western riots in the Free City; there was hesitation on the part of the ballet-management to send the young dancers into what might have developed into a combat zone. The Trieste appearances were historic; even the Communist press had only praise for this artistry of the Americans. The Mayor of the Free City, Gianni Bartoli... awarded each dancer with the Medal of Honor of Trieste, and affirmed that the presence of the company had done much to enhance the prestige of the West at a trying time. (28)

In January 1955 Kirstein resigned from both the City Center board and the managing directorship. After many clashes, his relationship with Joseph Rosenstock, the director of the New York City Opera, had unraveled, and now, with Rosenstock's contract up for renewal, he sought to replace him with Gian-Carlo Menotti. Unfortunately, Kirstein miscalculated the extent of his support, and instead of dismissing Rosenstock the board voted to renew his contract (29). With this incident Kirstein's career as a producer came to an end.* The Rockefeller Foundation grant had enabled him to continue the Diaghilev-style collaborations and repertoire model that he had put into practice with both Ballet

*After his resignation Kirstein told Charles B. Fahs that "He [Kirstein] had never had the full artistic control which we assumed he had at the time of our original grant. While he recognized the feelings of other directors that his plans would increase the cost of the City Center overhead, he had also felt that with high-quality productions additional support could be found. He felt that the difference between his theoretical powers and the actual situation in which policy was determined by Morton Baum had reached the point where it was undignified for him to continue with the title, managing director" (Fahs, Charles B. Report of an interview with Lincoln Kirstein, January 31, 1955; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 [Projects], Series 200 R, Sub-series [City Center], Box 392, Folder 3396). Kirstein was far less circumspect in discussing his resignation with the press: "If one sees the City Center as a money-making concern," he told Howard Taubman of the *New York Times*, "I see the City Center as a money-spending concern. If we had the highest artistic principles, we would get the money" (Taubman, Howard. City Center Director Quits in Policy Fight. *New York Times*, **January 28, 1955**).

Caravan in the 1930s and Ballet Society in the 1940s. It had inspired him to imagine a City Center that was virtually a blueprint for what later became Lincoln Center, an institution housing all the performing arts as well as professional training facilities. As early as 1952 he confided in John Marshall, who reported Kirstein's "intention to build at the Center both producing and training facilities. . . . K knows of some interest on the part of Schuman, as Director of the Juilliard School, in disposing of its uptown property to Columbia and moving the School into a midtown location, where it would be closely associated with production and performance. . . . Also, . . . K has had encouraging conversations with Robert Moses about the possibility of better housing for the Center, which might include these training facilities." (30)

Over the years Kirstein had done his best to get Nelson Rockefeller to join the City Center board. In 1954 he redirected his efforts to Nelson's brother, John D. Rockefeller 3d. In June, Baum formally invited John D. to join the board and serve on the Finance Committee. Enclosed with his letter was a six-year development plan for "an ideal City Center, embodying a large auditorium for musical theatre (opera, ballet, light-opera), a dramatic theatre, and a concert hall," and "incorporat[ing] existing schools of the performing arts (for music, dance and theater) in a professional conservatory, supervised and protected by Columbia University." (31) John D. Rockefeller never joined the board, but Kirstein's plan for an "ideal City Center" did not fade away. Instead, it became the working model for the committee headed by Rockefeller and with Kirstein as one of its members that began to meet in the following months "to explore the feasibility of an artistic set-up that would take in ballet, concerts, chamber music, drama, light opera and perhaps educational programs, as well as opera and symphony." By December 1955, when the *New York Times* picked up the story, "an eighteen-block area north of Columbus Circle had been earmarked for demolition under the city's urban renewal program, and both the Metropolitan Opera and the New York Philharmonic had committed themselves to the project." (32) Kirstein did far more than simply shepherd the New York City Ballet to Lincoln Center; very likely he dreamed up the whole scheme.

For nine years following his resignation, City Center remained the company's home. However, once it appeared that Rockefeller was prepared to include the New York City Ballet as a full-fledged constituent of Lincoln Center, Kirstein made no secret of his willingness to sever the company's ties with City Center. As early as December 1955 he was denying (at least to John Marshall) that any "legal tie" existed between the two organizations. "If K and Balanchine were to decide to move to the new center for the arts, City Center would have no legal hold on them, nor as far as K can see, on the company. There might have to be some adjudication as to properties—scenery and costumes." (33) By the spring of 1957, when the idea of a Lincoln Center dance company as distinct from

the New York City Ballet was beginning to take shape, Fahs spoke to Kirstein about the “progress he had made in broadening . . . Ballet Society.”

K indicated that he has hesitated to add to his Board of Trustees for fear of restricting his own flexibility and committing himself to people of whose real interest and abilities he is not completely confident. CBF asked whether . . . it would be possible . . . to set up a committee under the sponsorship of Ballet Society which might request and allocate a general fund for production costs of new dance creations on the pattern of the original grant to the New York City Center but not limited either to the New York City Center Ballet or to ballet in general? Conceivably a fund of \$100,000 a year might provide a useful stimulus . . . not only for the City Center Ballet but possibly also for Ballet Theatre and some of the modern dance groups. . . . With some reservations K seemed much taken by this concept, even though CBF pointed out that he had no assurance that he could get support for it here and that CBF’s mentioning it did not mean that it would necessarily be impossible to get help directly for Ballet Society. (34)

Obviously, Fahs was trying to push Kirstein into adopting a less combative attitude toward his “rivals,” a category that included pretty much everyone in the dance world except the New York City Ballet. And he strongly implied that the Foundation would be willing to fund Ballet Society if the money were distributed more equitably than before.

This was a course Kirstein chose not to follow. By 1959 a new “angel” had appeared on the horizon—the Ford Foundation. Unlike the Rockefeller Foundation, it was prepared to ignore the claims of other institutions while funding those closest to Kirstein’s heart: the School of American Ballet, which in 1959 initiated the scholarship program that enabled it to become a truly national organization; and the New York City Ballet, which in 1963 received the lion’s share of a \$7.7 million grant, the largest until then in the dance field (35). Ford largess made it possible for Kirstein and the New York City Ballet to claim—and ultimately control—the New York State Theater (which throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s was called Theatre of the Dance). But a little more than a decade before, at an even more critical juncture, Rockefeller largess had enabled the young company to prosper by adding substantially to its repertoire and international acclaim. Although dance funding during the 1950s has generally received little attention (36), it was during this pivotal decade that the basis was laid for the combination of academic, foundation, and government sponsorship that remains a hallmark of the American system of financing dance. In the creation of this system, the Rockefeller Foundation’s pioneering grant to City Center was of crucial, if unacknowledged importance.

NOTES

1. Grant authorization 53064, May 14, 1953; Rockefeller Foundation Collection, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200R (U.S./Humanities), Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3390, Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, NY. Unless otherwise noted, all citations are to material housed at this archive.
2. Kirstein, Lincoln. *Thirty Years: The New York City Ballet*; Knopf: New York, 1978.
3. Reynolds, Nancy. *Repertory in Review: Forty Years of the New York City Ballet*, introduction by Lincoln Kirstein; Dial: New York, 1977.
4. Taper, Bernard. *Balanchine: A Biography*, rev. Edition; University of California Press: Berkeley, 1996. The episode is discussed at length in Sokol, Martin L.'s *The New York City Opera: An American Adventure*; Macmillan: New York, 1981; chapter 15.
5. Warburg, Edward M.M. Letter (copy) to Nelson A. Rockefeller, October 8, 1934; Rockefeller to Warburg (copy), October 10, 1934; Warburg to Rockefeller, October 11, 1934; Rockefeller Family Collection, R.G. 2, Series (Educational/SAB), Box 37, Folder 251.
6. Rockefeller, Nelson A. Letter (copy) to Edward M. M. Warburg, January 8 and 13, 1937; Dimitriew, Vladimir. Letter to Rockefeller, January 16, 1937; Kirstein to Rockefeller, January 18, 1937; Rockefeller Family Collection, R.G. 2, Series (Educational/SAB), Box 37, Folder 251.
7. Warburg, Edward M.M. Letter to Nelson A. Rockefeller, February 3, 1937; Rockefeller to Warburg (copy), February 5, 1937; Rockefeller Family Collection, R.G. 2, Series (Educational/SAB), Box 37, Folder 251.
8. The American Ballet Caravan [report]; 1; Rockefeller Family Collection, R.G. 4 (NAR/Personal Projects), Series F966, Box 101, Folder (Lincoln Kirstein/Ballet Caravan).
9. Tribute to Rockefeller Staged by City Ballet, New York Times, **January 31, 1979**, sec. 3, 19.
10. Reich, Cary. *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller: Worlds to Conquer 1908–1958*; Doubleday: New York, 1996; 11–12.
11. Kirstein, Lincoln. Letter to Nelson A. Rockefeller, May 30, 1948; Rockefeller to Kirstein (copy), June 3, 1948; Kirstein to Rockefeller, June 4, 1948; Rockefeller Family Collection, R.G. 4 (NAR/Personal Projects), Series F1428, Box 145.
12. Marshall, John. Report of an interview with Newbold Morris, October 5, 1948; Rockefeller Foundation Collection, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200R (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3390.

13. Baum, Morton. Letter to John Marshall, January 12, 1949; Rockefeller Foundation Collection, R.F. 1.2 (Projects) Series 200R (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3390.
14. Grant in aid to the Ballet Society, Inc.—toward the completion of a book, *A Model of the Classic Dance*, RA H 4937, April 14, 1949; Kirstein to John Marshall, November 14, 1950, and February 12, 1951; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200R, Sub-series F2766, Box 296, Folder (Ballet Society/Dance Manual/Lincoln Kirstein).
15. Preliminary resolution approving grant to City Center, April 1, 1953; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3390.
16. Grant authorization 53064, May 14, 1953; Rockefeller Foundation Collection, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200R (U.S./Humanities), Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3390.
17. Kirstein, Lincoln. Letter to Nelson A. Rockefeller, February 1, 1952; Rockefeller Family Collection, R.G. 4 (NAR/Personal Projects), Series F965, Box 100, Folder (Lincoln Kirstein, 1933–1966).
18. Kirstein, Lincoln. Letter to John Marshall, January 26, 1953; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3391.
19. Kirstein, Lincoln. Letters to John Marshall, August 21, September 8 and 14, 1953; to Malcolm Gillette, January 12 and 26, 1954, January 13, 1955; Rockefeller Grant Report, Fall Season 1955, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folders 3392, 3393, 3394, 3396, 3398–3401. On November 28, 1952, three days after attending the first performance of *Metamorphoses* (to his Symphonic Metamorphoses on Themes of Carl Maria von Weber), Hindemith wrote to Willy Strecker, “Balanchine’s staging of the Metamorphosis was a great success.... He did it very amusingly. Just comical dancing around without any concrete action—unless one likes to accept that a beetle winding itself laboriously around a young lady counts as that—excellently performed. The City Center has a rather curious atmosphere, a former masonic temple full of Shriner frippery, and thoroughly provincial. But B. has indeed established something like a national dance culture here. They have now been dancing for weeks, the Metamorphosis and also the Temperaments are in the programme six or seven times. He is mad on getting a new ballet from me, if possible a full-length one. I shall think of it” (*Selected Letters of Paul Hindemith*; Skelton, Geoffrey, ed. and trans.; Yale University Press: New Haven, 1995; 215). Nothing appears to have come of this project. In 1978 Balanchine choreographed *Kammermusik No. 2* to an early work by Hindemith.

20. EFD. Report of a conversation with Wallace K. Harrison, April 15, 1953; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3392.
21. Fahs, Charles B. Report of an interview with John Martin, January 26, 1953; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3391.
22. Anderson, Jack. *The American Dance Festival*; Duke University Press: Durham, NC, 1987; 40, 48.
23. See, for example, the minutes of the second Advisory Meeting on [sic] the Dance, February 11, 1958; Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts Archives.
24. Baum, Morton. Letter to John Marshall, April 11, 1949; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200 R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3390.
25. Marshall, John. Report of an interview with Newbold Morris, October 5, 1948; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200 R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3390.
26. For an excellent discussion of the CIA's infiltration of postwar Europe's cultural elite, see Saunders, Frances Stoller. *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*; New Press: New York, 2000.
27. Riley, Russell L. Letter to Newbold Morris, October 8, 1953; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200 R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3393.
28. The New York Ballet Company, unsigned and undated memorandum attached to a letter dated February 1, 1954, from Kirstein's secretary, Josephine Cerasani, to Miss Magee of the Rockefeller Foundation's Office of Publications; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200 R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3394. Elsewhere in the memo, Kirstein states that the grant enabling the company to take its third trip to Europe came from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.
29. For Kirstein's clashes with Rosenstock and the events that prompted his resignation, see Sokol, Martin L. *The New York City Opera: An American Adventure*; Macmillan: New York, 1986; chapter 15. See also Marshall's interview with Kirstein, February 26, 1954, copies of Kirstein's letters to Rosenstock, February 15, 1954, and Dr. Leopold Sachse, February 12, 1954; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200 R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3394.
30. Marshall, John. Report of an interview with Lincoln Kirstein, October 8, 1952; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200 R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3391.
31. Baum, Morton. Letter to John D. Rockefeller 3d, June 3, 1954, and "Development Program: 1954–1960," attached to Marshall's report of an

- interview with Kirstein, June 21, 1954; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200 R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3395.
32. Schonberg, Harold C. Rockefeller 3d Will Direct Study of a Lincoln Sq. Center for Arts. *New York Times*, **December 1, 1955**.
 33. Marshall, John. Report of an interview with Lincoln Kirstein, December 6, 1955; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200 R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3397.
 34. Fahs, Charles B. Report of an interview with Lincoln Kirstein, March 12, 1957; Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.2 (Projects), Series 200 R, Sub-series (City Center), Box 392, Folder 3398–3401.
 35. Hughes, Allen. Ford Fund Allots 7.7 Million to Ballet. *New York Times* **December 16, 1963**. For an overview of the Ford–New York City Ballet relationship, see Bennett, Anne Barclay. *The Management of Philanthropic Funding for Institutional Stabilization: A History of the Ford Foundation and New York City Ballet*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, 1989.
 36. An exception is Prevots, Naima. *Dance for Export: Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War*; UPNE/Wesleyan University Press: Hanover, NH, 1998; introduction by Eric Foner.